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ABSTRACT

Learners may be categorized as follows: (1) intrinsically motivated intellectuals; (2) extrinsically motivated mass learners, as represented by modern school youth; (3) extrinsically motivated learners in continuous requalification; and (4) intrinsically motivated "trendsetters." Although intrinsically motivated learners tend to be found at the upper end of the social structure in a learning society, different learning types cannot be strictly associated with particular social classes. Unlike extrinsically motivated learners, intrinsically motivated learners develop a strategic attitude toward learning and combining formal cultural capital with more informal experiences. During childhood, parental and social milieu is of paramount importance for development of a stable attitude toward learning. The motivation for learning of adolescents and young adults with inadequate education is rather low, and their attitude toward learning and school is the most alienated. Parallel trajectories are required to combine education and employment. Adolescents and young adults with the potential for intrinsic learning have realized the personal and social advantages in allowing learning, work, and leisure time to penetrate one another. The learning society must convince all its members, including extrinsic learners and individuals in marginalized groups, that allowing this penetration of learning, work, and leisure time improves the opportunities of life. (Contains 31 references.) (MN)

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Trend-Setters and Other Types of Lifelong Learners

Introduction

Today we use the term of lifelong learning almost in an inflationary manner, referring to different social contexts and age groups. Also, it is not clear which kind of institution and life situation the term lifelong learning addresses: Is it school? The labour market? Is it formal learning or »learning by doing« ? Is it learning which happens mainly in a framed manner or is it more that it occurs in an informal manner? Politicians and educational bureaucrats speak about lifelong learning and make use of the concept to promote divergent interests. »Lifelong learning« is incorporated in official educational, economic and cultural documents in all EU member countries as well as in part of the agenda of international organisations be it the European Union itself, the UNESCO or the OECD. Unregulated use of the term makes it lead a kind of independent life to the extent that it becomes detached from its social conditions and references.

Some of the questions which occur to us when using the term »lifelong learning« we wish to pursue in this article. To start with, we shall contemplate various forms and types of learning. As such we will investigate social places of learning and attribute different groups of participants in society to each of them. On this basis, we shall consider the significance and implications of the concept for a potential »learning society« regarding the principles of social integration, and regarding the organisation of learning. We then ask what are the implications of lifelong learning for the different stages in the life-course – childhood, youth, and (young) adulthood. We conclude with some comments on the opportunities and risks in a learning society.

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Four Modes of Learning and Types of Learners

We approach the concept of lifelong learning by differentiating between *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* learning modes, attributing these to socio-historical types of learning in society. Such differentiation seems useful to clarify the multiple interpretability of lifelong learning. In cognitive motivation research, the incentive value of an objective and the subjectively estimated probability of reaching an objective through one's own actions are the main driving forces of motivated action. The differentiation here is between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. In connection with learning processes to which motivation theory mostly has been applied, intrinsic motivation means pursuing a learning objective independent of external rewards. One's own activities, self-determined learning and its success or failure are a confirmation in themselves and act as a stimulant for continued learning and experience. In contrast, extrinsic motivation for learning and performing is much more dependent on external incentives or the fear of negative sanctions (Heckhausen 1989).

As a heuristic approach to the social distribution of (lifelong) learning in western European societies, we suggest four exemplary types of learners:

- the learner type of intrinsically motivated intellectuals,
- the extrinsically motivated mass-learner represented by the modern school youth,
- the extrinsically motivated learner type in continuous re-qualification,
- the learner type of intrinsically motivated »trend-setters«.

This typology is intended as a conceptual framework based on theoretical assumptions of findings from the areas of educational sociology and youth- and life-course research (Bélanger & Gelpi 1995; Alheit & Kammler 1998). The types are not intended to represent a complete picture of social reality. Most individuals will integrate these modes of learning in their learning biographies in different situations and contexts. However, we hope to point out existing differences within learning in society by connecting them to exemplary

biographical learning situations. We also hope to demonstrate that these different modes are not spread across society at random and that this has consequences for the individuals as well as for future learning societies.

The learner type of intrinsically motivated intellectuals

The intellectual factions of today's modern societies acquire the cultural and scientific heritage of society at large and the specialised knowledge of their particular field of interest independently and in a course of work which lasts a lifetime. By definition, intellectuals are not youths, as a certain period of living and learning is required for a man to accumulate the general and specialised knowledge to assume the position of an intellectual in society. The use of the masculine form is not accidental, for women have only been successful in their struggle for access to the prerequisites for a life acknowledged as an intellectual one in the last few decades. As concerns ethnic/cultural minorities, they are members of the intellectual community of western European societies only as exceptions. This is due on the one hand to the socio-cultural composition of migrant groups, on the other hand to the gate-keepers of the education systems and intellectual circles in the immigration societies.

Increasing competition due to a growing number of potential candidates increases the pressure for modern intellectuals to over-specialise and also to use alienated forms of acquiring knowledge. Yet individuals who deserve to be called intellectuals cannot manage without intrinsically motivated learning. And although they operate within institutions such as universities, publishing houses, editorial staff of newspapers, research institutions etc., as far as knowledge acquisition is concerned they still remain individualised and intrinsically motivated learners.

The extrinsically motivated mass-learner type represented by modern school youth

Learning with extrinsic motivation leads us to today's mass schools and mass universities as officially established places of learning in

modern societies. Regarding the generalisation of both school and university, one is concerned with forms of mass learning which takes place in highly differentiated educational sub-systems. Mass education has a contradictory role in the social process of individualisation. On the one hand members learn as individuals who are not supposed to or need not feel dedicated to any collective, but to themselves alone and to the generalised requirements of society. On the other hand individuals experience standardised learning experiences on which their individual influence is strongly restricted by the »bureaucratic« principles according to which education is organised. This learner type has brought about modern youth who experience a prolonged youth phase on account of prolonged educational careers.

Mass education is compulsory by law as well as by being increasingly a necessary condition for participation in any other sector of social life, mainly employment. In as much as learning is compulsory, the learners' motivation is extrinsic.

Nowadays, compulsory learning does not only refer to compulsory school attendance, which in most European countries extends to the age of 18, but also to further education beyond legal compulsory school age. Modern youths are forced to learn, whether they want to or not, they have no choice in this matter. Considering the achieved and required social standard, it is justifiable to say that from compulsory learning individuals can only escape at the price of high risks in their lives. The analogy to the structure of the Fordist »Labour Society«, where participation in generally alienated or alienating work is a basic prerequisite for social integration, is obvious (Brown & Lauder 1998).

What takes place is a spiral-like adaptation to increased requirements of the labour market: individuals keep increasing their educational capital. The requirements are then raised again, or respectively, educational credentials become subject to increasing devaluation. The defined borders between the social milieus do not disappear, though, as an abundance of data analyses by educational sociologists confirms. Beck has characterised the continuity of social inequality on a higher educational level as the »elevator effects« of the expansion of education and training systems in the 1960s and '70s (Beck 1986; see also Coffield 1996; Husén 1996).

Mass learning has led to a similarity between the genders in the field of education which has no historical precedence, just as mass learning itself. At the same time, new gender-specific differentiations emerge concerning choice of subjects and courses which prepare young people for a gender-specific labour market.
Mass learning societies are only beginning to accept the ethnic-cultural minority groups into their educational systems although they have been part of the population of western European societies since the 1960s. The prospects of their catching up with the indigenous mass learners are not bright; rather they face marginalisation and social exclusion (Rattansi & Phoenix 1997).

The extrinsically motivated learner type in continuous requalification

Extrinsically motivated mass learning corresponds with increasing pressure towards further qualification. Such pressure affects people with and without work. People who have dropped out of the labour market are supposed to be launched back into work through compulsory (re)qualification courses of various kinds and duration. Increases of productivity along with a profound restructuring of the labour market in the course of parallel regional and national differentiation and globalisation cause an increasing reduction and rejection of the work force (Münch 1998). And for these individuals participation in re-qualification measures even becomes a means to maintain their status as social benefits recipients where welfare policies increasingly tend to close the option »living as unemployed on social benefits«.
The welfare state, to which we owe the enormous intensification of education in the 1960s, finds itself at its limits and increasingly is incapable of providing the services the unemployed and underpaid used to be able to rely on; including the services which made early retirement possible in order to relieve the labour market and in turn to make a reduction in staff numbers of many large companies and service providers possible. The effect of all these developments is a flexibilisation of the work force unknown or forgotten since the beginnings and the peak of industrial societies in the 19th and early 20th century, part of which is the pressure towards constant continuation of

individual education and retraining to be able to adapt to new circumstances (Brown & Lauder 1998; Watt 1996). Such forms of learning, demanded by the labour market and welfare state organisations, are to a great extent beyond any influence of the participants concerning content, duration and teaching material. They are extrinsically imposed forms of learning which members of society from all social levels (although in reality it is still more the lower classes) and at all ages (although in reality it is rarely above the age of 50), men and women, the respective ethnic-cultural minority groups - especially these, for they did not take advantage of the great educational reforms of the 1960s in the host societies - are forced to go through. This means that more and more members of society have to prepare for situations where they temporarily belong to this extrinsically motivated learner type (Walther 1996; Walther et al. 1998). It is this category to which the concept of lifelong learning refers mostly, and at the same time it is the most heterogeneous and problematic category.

The learner type of intrinsically motivated trend-setters

»Trend-setting« learners (see also Lopiano-Misdom & De Luca 1997) are intrinsically motivated constant learners. The individual single learning mode of the classic intellectual has been substituted by an integrated learning mode in small groups based on networking. Just as the mass-learners, trend-setting learners are representatives of new forms of learning in a historical-social respect (see also Castells 1997). But in contrast to the former, they are intrinsically motivated and often belong to the new techno-economic and cultural elites (Reich 1997).

Not only are trend-setting learners young, they also tend to be of either sex: young women arrange such new styles of learning and living as actively as young men. They profit from a more reflective attitude towards biographical contradictions - mainly between cultural acceptance of and structural barriers against equal opportunities - structuring female socialisation. So far, observed from the point of view of national states, only few members of ethnic minorities are represented. Though this criterion of distinction is anachronistic in a way that trend-setters set up networks across national borders, in-

cluding representatives in the countries from which the ethnic minorities originate.
Turbulence in the labour market may strike the trend-setters as unexpectedly as any other participants in society. But this does not keep them from following individual projects of subjective relevance. They generally have sufficient cultural, social and especially motivational capital to react to this flexibly and imaginatively. Their cultural/social capital extends over several levels, and as a rule, they can draw on their home backgrounds for resources as well. But also adolescents and young adults from social classes with a distance to education and no parental resources basically have access to this learner faction if they succeed in activating sufficient personal energy and are able to acquire the appropriate skills and qualifications, particularly in the field of media (Du Bois-Reymond 1998).

The Dimension of Social Structure

In a learning society, the intrinsically motivated learners tend to be found at the upper end of the social structure, but we should not conclude from this that the extrinsically motivated are exclusively concentrated at the bottom end: both, intrinsic and extrinsic learners are to be found increasingly in the middle. Barbara Ehrenreich has drawn attention to the middle classes' »fear of falling« and to the respectively increased pressure to maintain their social position by education and training (Ehrenreich 1990; Brown 1994). Locating the various types of learners within the social structure therefore only partly answers the questions of learning psychology about motivational incentives and the achievability of goals. Apart from that, it would not be appropriate to attribute the different learning types too strictly to the upper, middle and lower social classes respectively. The situation in today's societies is rather that the various social groups can shift back and forth or fluctuate between the different learning modes.
We should not therefore differentiate between formal and informal learning in such a dichotomous manner. The situation is such that in-

trinsic learner types have a lot of formal educational capital at their disposal, in addition to their informal capital. Due to their privileged milieu of origin, they are also in a position to take greater risks in their professional and private decisions; if they fail, total disaster is not the inevitable consequence. In a certain sense, they are able to afford informal learning. And it is exactly this nonchalance and willingness to take risks which enables them to accumulate informal learning capital and make use of it in society. They develop a *strategic attitude* towards learning and combining formal cultural capital with more informal experiences.

At the other end, it must be taken into account that those attributed to extrinsic learner types go through informal and intrinsic learning processes if, for example, we consider the competences of communication, care and upbringing which women acquire in everyday (family) life, the process knowledge of factory workers which goes beyond their place of occupation, or even the strategies of coping with life, e.g. exchange and making use of information about jobs »on the side« or finding out about strategies of obtaining »government gravy«. Yet this kind of informal learning differs from informal trend-setter learning in two ways - however useful it may be to the individual: firstly, it is not recognised by society, because it is sanctioned as a usual, everyday matter or even as deviant. Secondly, the learners often do not become aware of the fact that what they know may under certain conditions be considered as competences which can be used in a broader context, but see it as »just about coping with everyday life«. Both factors have the effect that in contrast to trend-setters and intellectuals, these learners do not develop a *strategic attitude* to this form of learning.

The broader the mass basis of learning and teaching became in the course of modernity, the more problematic the relations between the two. Until very recently, the majority of members of society were excluded from learning beyond a necessary minimum, the places of learning - school and university - were clearly defined. This applied to all (western) European countries, with the according national variances (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; Bolder, Heinz & Rodax 1996; Chisholm, Büchner, Krüger & Du Bois-Reymond 1995; Walther & Stauber 1998).

The middle of this century has seen the beginning of a de-hierarchisation and informalisation of teaching-learning relations.
This has not however led to emancipatory teaching-learning relations, that is, an intrinsically motivated involvement of the subjects, as the advocates of de-schooling on the one hand and the representatives of collective, egalitarian forms of learning on the other hand had hoped for. What takes place instead, especially through mass learning under bureaucratic-meritocratic conditions is alienation from themselves as teachers or learners and from the object of acquisition - social knowledge in the broadest sense. Mass education does lead to less hierarchic and more informal relationships between students and teachers, but only under very specific conditions does such an informalisation have the effect of relieving learning from formal constraints. Generally it leads to student-teacher relations characterised by indifference. Mass education thus releases teachers from their educational responsibilities and leaves learners to their learning fate (Du Bois-Reymond 1996).
The traditional teacher-learner relations are broken up by the trendsetters in so far as learning and teaching coincide in the person of the new learner and his or her networks. To these groups, lifelong learning means the continuation of a life-style (Saddington 1998; Reich 1997).
The growing importance of individualised forms of learning points to a general increase in the significance of education and qualification in post-modern as opposed to classic modern societies. Such is the background upon which the concept of lifelong learning has to be interpreted, and it was against this historical background that it developed. The crisis of the labour society only served to give topicality to the idea once more, it did not emerge from it (Hake 1998).
The assurance that knowledge acquired and a biography chosen will lead to success is no longer there. And it is precisely this lack of biographical security which is the source from which the concept of lifelong learning draws its significance in social discourse and subjective experience. Therefore we shall discuss the concept of lifelong learning and the learning society in the following section with respect to the human life-course.

Lifelong Learning in the Human Life-Course: Opportunities and Risks

The modern life-course model developed in recent decades in (western) European welfare societies can be portrayed as an institutionalised »normal life-course«, a sequence of phases at school, in training, in employment and of retirement (Kohli 1985), in which the learning biography is incorporated. This life-course model shows class- and gender-specific variations concerning duration and type of the phases. The relevant sociological literature has described how this model has begun to disintegrate in the last decades and how its gender- and class-specifically standardising features have been penetrated by structures of individualised, potentially risk-laden biographies of choice. Two major characteristics of the life-course in postmodern societies are *synchronicity* – whereas phases formerly succeeded one another, they can now occur simultaneously – and the *increasing significance of education and qualification* leading to progressively prolonged learning and training phases and making the life course a major distributor of social opportunities (Beck & Sopp 1997).

Referring to the question as to who may profit from the opportunities of modernised individualisation and who rather may face the risks, it may however make sense to consider again the individual life course as a linear, though differentiated phase model: child – adolescent – (young) adult. This makes it possible for each phase of life to name positive and negative circumstances for the acquisition of a modern attitude towards learning. And there is a substantial reason too: the institutions keeping the »gates« of individual life courses – mainly those of education and welfare – operate on the assumptions of linear life courses (Heinz 1992). The figure below may illustrate this:

	conditions for facing higher risks in a learning society	*conditions for profiting from the opportunities of a learning society*
child-hood	- disadvantageous family socialisation - no development of intrinsic learning disposition - compensatory programmes at pre-school level	- family education provides rich learning experiences, especially in the field of leisure activities, which stimulates intrinsic learning disposition
youth	- extrinsically motivated learners at school - low educational profile - educational measures to enforce minimum qualification	- extrinsically motivated learners at school but enough cultural-social capital to realise high educational profile - »leisure careers«
(young) adult-hood	- low/no professional training - forced flexi-work - high risk of unemployment - forced retraining - sharp division between work, learning and leisure activities	- formal and informal professional training - desire for self-determined work - networking as a way of life - medium risk of unemployment - readiness and capacity to learn new things - intermingling of work, learning and leisure activities

The learning phase of *children and adolescents* has extended drastically in the last few decades, as we have already pointed out with the type of the mass learner (see also OECD 1996, table 3.3). During *childhood*, the parental and social milieu is of paramount importance for the development of a stable attitude towards learning. With the evolution of the learning biography in the post-war decades, efforts of educational policies were directed at finding measures to at least partly compensate for adverse conditions of socialisation. In the course of the debate about lifelong learning, a further venture into kindergarten and nursery school education is taking place in order to convey early learning experiences to children from deprived social backgrounds. In western European societies such children have to an increasing extent an ethnic-cultural background. They clearly belong to the potential and real losers of modernisation, despite inter-ethnic differences.

In contrast, children with rich learning experiences in and outside family life build up learning capital from their early years onwards. They get the opportunity to develop *leisure time careers* and are encouraged by their parents to additionally acquire cultural and knowledge capital outside school in the fields of language, the media and aesthetics with the intention of thus gaining a broader view of the world and tuning in to future decisions concerning a profession (Büchner et al. 1998). In contrast, the children from disadvantageous familial milieus adhere to the separation between learning and spare time, thus missing out on one of the most important links to good opportunities for professional life later on and to life in general.

The motivation for learning on the part of *adolescents and young adults* with inadequate education is rather low and their attitude towards learning and school the most alienated, but at the same time the necessity to acquire further education cannot be denied. *Parallel trajectories* are required to combine education and employment. In the dual system, such parallel trajectories exist, but under the pressure of the labour market and jobless growth, not all youth who follow such trajectories succeed in finding a stable job. At the same time, these young people have great difficulties in developing a learning attitude later in life in order to keep up with the changing demands of professions if they were not socialised in such an attitude earlier in their lives.

To combine studies and work experience is becoming a tendency which transforms the classic education phase of life under new social conditions. Adolescents and young adults with a potential for intrinsic learning have realised the personal and social advantages in allowing *learning, work and leisure time to penetrate one another*. They develop flexible personalities and at the same time they develop solid networks which structure the mutual penetration between learning, working and leisure.

So if on the one hand, there is the tendency towards a *decoupling of education and work* due to the fact that educational trajectories become longer and independent,

»a gap opens up between the educational and employment system which proves to be a biographical status gap, a new constellation

socially and in the life-course which is bound to change modern biographies« (Alheit 1994, p. 31),
there is on the other hand the reverse tendency towards a qualitatively new link between education and work through lifelong learning. In our typology, it is mainly the trend-setter learners who actively take part in such linking activities, while extrinsic learners are driven to it from outside, e.g. through compulsory courses of further education and qualification and forced flexi jobs.

Conclusions: Opportunities and Risks in a Learning Society

Lifelong learning is not a value-free concept. It performs the function of inclusion *and* exclusion even if the rhetoric only stresses the potentials of inclusion. To the various learner types and life phases lifelong learning means different things. The »old-style permanent learners« (intellectuals) and the »modern-style permanent learners« (trend-setters) operate on different fronts in society and professions. Often, they have nothing whatsoever in common or to do with one another. It is a question which goes beyond the scope of this article to investigate if this means that there is a generation gap between young network-learners and the classic intellectuals because of age, or if indeed a profound change in learning modes is taking place in contemporary society.
The old and new marginalised segments of society have nothing in common either - except the fact of their marginalisation. But it is quite evident that their social position is ever more dependent on their learning biography. If they did not get the chance to learn how to learn in early childhood, they have decidedly less chances in life than did those a generation before them with little scholarly capital.
The new circumstances of both learning and employment nowadays suggest completely different requirements, namely voluntariness and autonomy, i.e. an intrinsic attitude towards all tasks and activities

(Brown & Lauder 1998). The learning society needs to convince those of its members who have not (yet) had the possibility of experiencing and accepting that such a tendency towards mutual penetration of learning, work and leisure time improves the opportunities of life by permitting, acknowledging and securing such penetration at all levels. Particularly in face of the social and biographical openness and uncertainty which are part of lifelong learning, support from society is of essential significance as it recognises and values the investments of the individuals in motivating themselves and taking the risks of deciding.

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